NEWS ANALYSIS 1-1673 OCTOBER 21, 1976
FRED GALVAN

MORALITY AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

ANNCR: NEWS ANALYST FRED GALVAN EXAMINES AN UNDERLYING THEME IN AMERICAN POLITICS AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THE CURRENT ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN.

VOICE: BY ITS NATURE, AN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY SUCH AS THIS ONE INCLUDES A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF CONFUSION AND HYPERBOLE BY THE CANDIDATES VYING FOR OFFICE. ONE AREA WHERE THIS HAS SHOWN UP IS IN DISCUSSION OF FOREIGN POLICY. BUT THE CURRENT ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN THE U.S., LIKE MANY OTHERS BEFORE IT, ALSO REFLECTS A FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL CHARACTERISTIC. THAT IS ITS MIXTURE OF PRAGMATISM AND A DEEP SENSE OF MORALITY. AS THE CAMPAIGN HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND HIS RIVAL FOR THE PRESIDENCY, GOVERNOR CARTER, A COMMON THREAD FOR THEIR ARGUMENTS HAS BEEN THE QUESTION OF MORALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY.

BECAUSE OF THEIR HERITAGE, AMERICANS ARE ACCUSTOMED TO ENGAGING IN A PERENNIAL EXAMINATION OF NATIONAL CONSCIENCE. IN THAT SOUL-SEARCHING EXERCISE, SUCH QUESTIONS ARISE AS: 'DOES OUR FOREIGN POLICY PURSUE MORAL MEANS?", "HOW CAN AMERICA PLAY ITS ROLE AS A CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND JUSTICE IN A WORLD WHERE POWER IS THE DECIDING FACTOR?", AND "HOW CAN WE ASSURE BOTH OUR EXISTENCE AND THAT OF OUR VALUES?" IT IS IN TRYING TO RECONCILE BOTH THESE FACTORS -- THE MEANS AND THE ENDS -- THAT THE CREATIVE TENSION IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY EXISTS.

THAT TENSION IS REFLECTED IN THE DIVERGENT VIEWS IN THIS COUNTRY AS TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH TRADITIONAL IDEALS MUST SUBORDINATE THEMSELVES TO PRACTICAL REALITIES. SUCH IS THE CASE WITH MANY AMERICANS WHO QUESTION HOW FAR THE UNITED STATES SHOULD GO IN ITS

RELATIONS WITH REPRESSIVE REGIMES NOT ONLY IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, BUT ELSEWHERE. GOVERNOR CARTER, IN HIS CRITICISMS OF WHAT HE TERMS THE KISSINGER POLICY, HAS ATTACKED IT AS TOO PRAGMATIC AT THE EXPENSE OF MORALITY.

SECRETARY KISSINGER HIMSELF RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEM IN AN ADDRESS TO A NATIONWIDE RELIGIOUS GROUP IN NEW YORK TUESDAY EVENING -- THE SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA. HE WARNED THAT THERE IS A DANGER IN EQUATING MORALITY WITH MORALIZING. THAT DANGER, HE SAID, IS PARTICULARLY PRESENT IN TODAY'S COMPLEX, INTERDEPENDENT WORLD. FOR, AS HE SAID, NO LONGER CAN AMERICA IMPOSE ITS SOLUTIONS ON THE REST OF THE WORLD, BUT NEITHER CAN AMERICA ESCAPE ITS ROLE IN IT.

AMERICA MUST, HE SAID, CONTINUE TO PURSUE ITS GOALS OF A SECURE AND JUST PEACE, OF A COOPERATIVE AND BENEFICIAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER, AND OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY FOR ALL MEN. BUT TO DO SO IT MUST LIVE WITH THE POLITICAL REALITIES OF TODAY'S WORLD.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE POSITION OPPOSED TO THE KISSINGER FORMULA IS A NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY ANTHONY LEWIS TODAY. (THURSDAY). MISTER LEWIS AGREES THAT SOUND POLICY MUST RELATE ITS ENDS TO ITS MEANS. BUT, HE ADDS, "IT DOES NOT FOLLOW...THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TO CHOOSE BETWEEN POLAR ALTERNATIVES: A MORAL OR A PRACTICAL POLICY." THE TIMES COLUMNIST SUGGESTS THAT AMERICANS CAN COMBINE BOTH BY BEING THEMSELVES. "THAT MEAN," HE SAYS, "MAKING CLEAR WHAT OUR BELIEFS ARE, AND AT A MINIMUM NOT ACTIVELY BETRAYING THEM WHEN WE DO USE OUR POWER ABROAD." ONLY THUS, HE SAYS, CAN AMERICAN POLICY REFLECTING AMERICAN IDEALS, BE EFFECTIVE AND CREDIBLE BOTH TO ITS FRIENDS AND POTENTIAL ENEMIES.

WHAT IT ALL COMES DOWN TO, OF COURSE, IS THAT REGARDLESS OF WHO WINS THE ELECTION THIS YEAR, HE WILL FACE THE SAME DILEMMA OF FINDING THE RIGHT MIX BETWEEN MORALITY AND PRAGMATISM FAR BEYOND ELECTION DAY, FOR THE DEBATE WILL GO ON.

-0-